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## THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER TOGA

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THE development of the toga is continuously and consistently from the simple to the complex. The Etruscan form, from which the Roman toga is traditionally derived, is a scanty garment, approximately semicircular in form, and put on in the usual way, passing twice over the left shoulder.<sup>1</sup> It is manifest from its awkward form that it is more of a practical garment than a matter of ornament. This simple form in the hands of the Roman, as illustrated by the bronze "Orator" in Florence, attains at once to more ample dimensions, covering the body and reaching almost to the ground, though it is still tight and scant. Adornment is as yet hardly thought of, but the unattractive simple edge seen in the Etruscan form is here relieved by a tendency to roll or fold at the neck. Hereafter this tight toga gradually relaxes its hold on the Roman's body, by increasing in length and consequently in fulness, and at the same time gains artistic quality by greater richness of folds, though still hampering the use of the wearer's right arm. But a nation of public speakers eventually frees the right arm entirely from the toga. Great additional richness of drapery in the toga of the Early Empire is secured by the evolution of the elaborate *sinus* effect, falling even below the knee. In this highly decorative type, the limits of elaborateness would seem to be reached, and with this the history of the development usually ends.

But there is a further chapter. It is the formalizing of this elaborate imperial toga. This appears first in the custom of pressing and plaiting the folds which fall from the left shoulder down the back. In the earlier toga these folds were carefully arranged, but fell naturally and loosely from the shoulder. This tendency to plait and formalize appears even in front where the *sinus* edge rises to the shoulder. The extreme of this for-

<sup>1</sup> Micali, *Storia dei Popoli Romani*, Pl. XXXVI.

mal toga is described by Tertullian,<sup>1</sup> who says it must be folded on boards and pressed the night before it is worn, and must be hung up on a form (*crux*). Even pins (*forcipes*) are sometimes used to hold the folds in their proper places. It is, in fact, a band-box garment, and one can readily believe Tertullian's explanation that it must be put on by the *vestiplicus* with very great care.

Now the two main effects produced by the imperial toga are first, the close-fitting girdle-like band running diagonally across the chest from the right side to the left shoulder, and second, the full sweeping curve of the *sinus*. The next natural step in formalizing the toga would be to formalize these two fundamental effects. This is done by extending the plaited band falling down the back very considerably in length, and passing it around the

body in the natural way to produce these effects, *i.e.* under the right arm, closely across the breast, over the left shoulder, across the back, either over or under the right shoulder, making the conventional *sinus* curve in front, and finally over the left shoulder or the left arm. The elongated band, of course, makes the usual *sinus* of the toga unnecessary, as the *sinus* curve is now otherwise produced. This

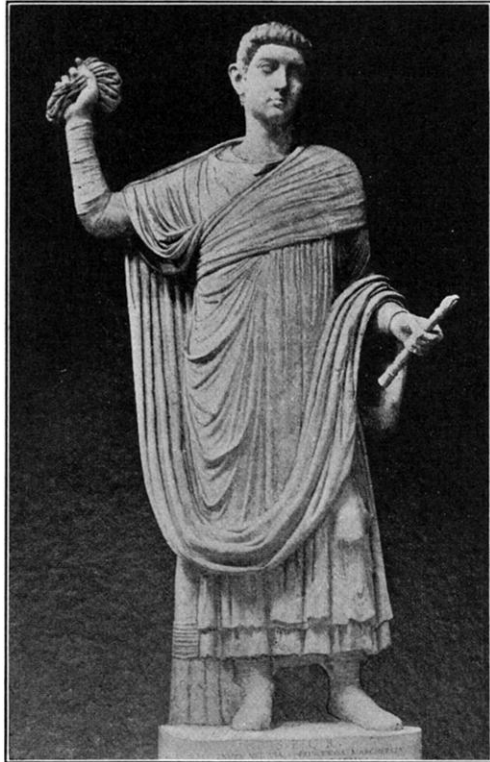


FIGURE 1. — "AEDILE" STATUE, PALAZZO DEI CONSERVATORI, ROME.

<sup>1</sup> *De Pallio*, 5.

form of the toga is, therefore, neither cut nor folded so as to produce a *sinus*. This is the garment of the so-called "aedile" statues in the Palazzo dei Conservatori in Rome (Fig. 1). Hula<sup>1</sup> is of the opinion

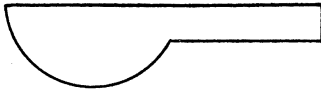


FIGURE 2. — RECONSTRUCTION OF  
ELONGATED TOGA.

that this band is a separate piece from the toga proper, but though I went to these statues again and again, and examined them repeatedly with this in mind, I could find

no evidence of any separation. It is my belief that over the two tunics there is but one garment, and that as described above.

The form which I should suggest to produce this toga is illustrated in Figure 2. It harmonizes equally well with either the Bekker,<sup>2</sup> the Weiss,<sup>3</sup> or the Launitz<sup>4</sup> theory of the reconstruction of the imperial toga, *i.e.* with either the semicircular form, the folded elliptical form, or the form with the attached piece to produce the *sinus*.

This form of garment is most awkward, and so long as to be almost unmanageable. It is clearly too cumbersome to remain in use, even as a ceremonial garb. It must either go out of use, or develop into a form which can be more readily managed.

The latter is, I believe, what happens. The cumbersome band has been severed from the toga, and becomes a separate garment worn over the simple form of the toga without a *sinus*. It is fastened with pins in front of the right armpit or

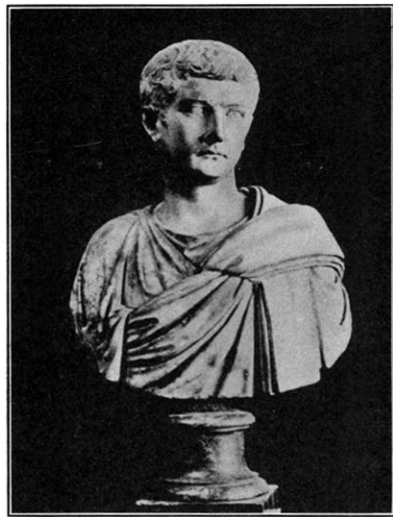


FIGURE 3. — YOUNGER DRUSUS, GALLERIA  
DEGLI UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Toga der späteren Kaiserzeit*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker, *Gallus*, p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*, p. 557.

<sup>4</sup> Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 560; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, III, p. 1825.

under the folds of the toga in front of the chest (Fig. 3). Under this category comes the large number of busts scattered through European museums, with a broad heavy band across the chest. The fact that these bands occur almost exclusively on busts, makes it impossible to see what becomes of the bands behind or below, for the busts are usually severed sharply at the shoulder and left unfinished behind. I desire to show that these bands are in every case derived from the formal toga of the "aedile" statues.

The point at which the end of the band is fastened, whether under the folds of the toga in front of the breast (Fig. 3), or at the right arm (Fig. 9), is unessential. Without, therefore, considering the point of fastening, four type forms may be distinguished:—

Type 1 (Fig. 3). The diagonal band disappears over the left shoulder. Underneath it, either wholly or partly, and up over the left shoulder passes a vertical band, the beginning and end of which cannot be determined from the bust.

Type 2 (Fig. 4). This form is the same as the first type, except that a vertical band appears also on the right shoulder. What has been termed the diagonal band happens, in this bust of Septimius Severus,<sup>1</sup> to be almost vertical, but its identity with the usual diagonal form is self-evident.

Type 3 (Fig. 5). The diagonal band starts from either the armpit or breast and disappears over the left shoulder. No vertical band appears on either shoulder, and it is impossible

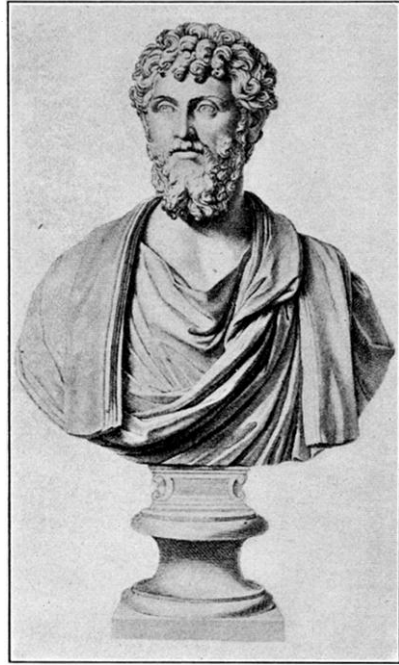


FIGURE 4.—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS, LOUVRE, PARIS.

<sup>1</sup> Louvre, No. 1118.

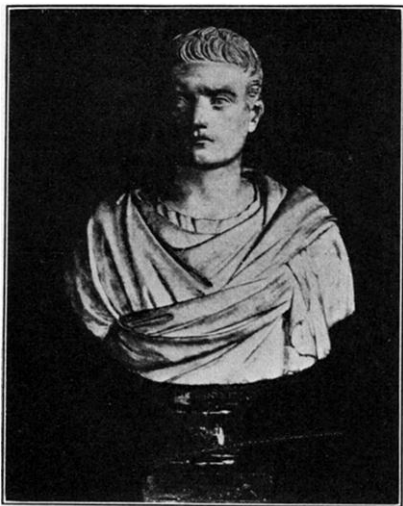


FIGURE 5. — GORDIAN I., GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI, FLORENCE.

shall attempt to prove by showing what becomes of these bands below and behind the busts.

Type 1. In this form the band is put on exactly as a toga is put on. That is, it starts in front and passes over the left shoulder, down across the back, following the usual *sinus* line in front, and up

from the busts alone to determine what becomes of the band in the back.

Type 4 (Fig. 6). From the band described in type 3 hangs a vertical band, the lower end of which cannot be seen in busts. That this vertical band is not the same piece as the other is shown by the fact that several busts<sup>1</sup> show the two bands with a different number of folds.

That these four types are all derived from the preceding formal toga, as seen in the "aedile" statues, I

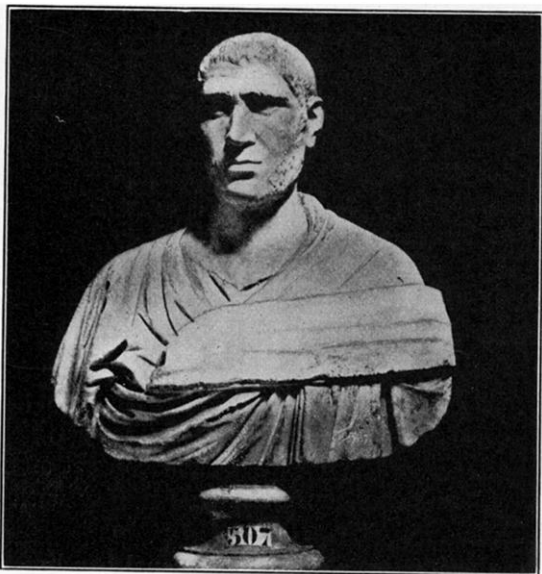


FIGURE 6. — BUST IN MUSEO TORLONIA, ROME.

<sup>1</sup> Vatican Museum, Braccio Nuovo, No. 84 (Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vat. Mus.* I, 12, 84); Museo delle Terme, Rome, Geta bust; Louvre, No. 1015 has the diagonal band of two folds and the vertical of four.

over the left shoulder again, sometimes falling by the side of the earlier part of the band, but more frequently slipped under it, the better to hold it in place. The end, of course, falls down the back. So far as I know, no full-length statue exists which establishes this. The accompanying outline sketch (Fig. 7) illustrates the manner in which I believe the band is used. The dotted line shows the lower limit of the bust statues. It will be observed that the two essential effects of the toga are thus formally produced.

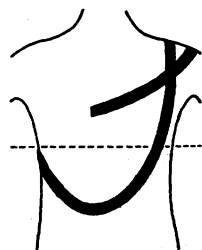


FIGURE 7. — RECONSTRUCTION OF TYPE 1.

Type 2 differs from type 1 only in that the band passes over the right shoulder instead of under it, just as the normal imperial toga was worn sometimes over and sometimes under the right shoulder.<sup>1</sup> That this band on the right shoulder is a continuation of the band starting at the breast is beyond question. There are at least three busts in Rome<sup>2</sup> which are carefully enough worked at

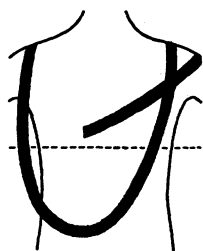


FIGURE 8. — RECONSTRUCTION OF TYPE 2.

the back of the neck to show this, and the accompanying cut of the Severus bust (Fig. 4) makes it reasonably clear. Figure 8 is the proposed reconstruction of this type, which formalizes the essential lines of the toga when worn over the right shoulder.

Type 3 is the same as the first type except that the end of the band, instead of passing up over the shoulder, hangs over the left forearm, exactly as in the "aedile" statues (cf. Fig. 1). In busts the lower end of the band could not appear. Fortunately, we have several examples of this form on full-length reliefs, notably on a sarcophagus (Fig. 9) from the Museo delle Terme in Rome. The figure at the right of the centre is clothed in a garment of this type. That this is a separate band is also clear, for the point at which it is attached at the right armpit is easily discernible on the marble, though the photograph does not show it.

<sup>1</sup> See the reliefs from the Ara Pacis in Florence.

<sup>2</sup> One in the Capitoline Museum (Room of the Faun, No. 2) and two in the Kircherian Museum.

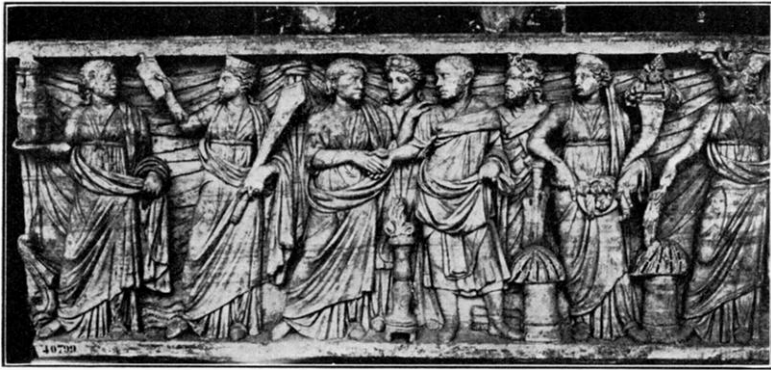


FIGURE 9. — SARCOPHAGUS, MUSEO DELLE TERME, ROME.

Type 4 must be explained in a different manner. The *sinus* curve effect was produced in the opposite way. That is, a separate band—that it is separate has been shown above—is fastened to the diagonal band, curves down in front, and is held loosely in the right hand. This would be a violent and perhaps an unwarrantable assumption, did we not have the key to this type in a statue in the Doria-Pamphili collection in Rome (Fig. 10). It is impossible to determine what becomes of the diagonal band of this fourth type which passes over the left shoulder, though the end could readily be concealed underneath the folds of the toga naturally falling from the left shoulder.



FIGURE 10. — STATUE IN DORIA-PAMPHILI COLLECTION, ROME.

It is from this folded band of cloth, at first connected with and then detached from the toga, that Wilpert<sup>1</sup> derives the stole of modern clerical vestments. As to the meaning or symbolism of the band, I have found no evidence. Indeed, I question if it had any especial significance. Its use may have been restricted to a certain class or rank, as was the use of the toga itself, but it is doubtful that it was the

<sup>1</sup> *L'Arte*, 1899, pp. 89 ff.



emblem of an office, for in the Vatican<sup>1</sup> is found the bust of a young boy wearing it. It is, I believe, only a formal toga. But there is reason to suspect that, while it did not indicate rank, it gave a good opportunity to display the purple stripes or other insignia which did show rank. In several instances, as in the sarcophagus in the Museo delle Terme (Fig. 9),<sup>2</sup> there are incisions, or ridges, in the marble on the part of the band in front of the chest, suggesting that at these points the bands may have had a purple *clavus* painted on them. But for this I know of no proof apart from these ridges and channels in the marble.

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<sup>1</sup> Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vat. Mus.* II, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vat. Mus.* I, 8, 54, 49; 20, 124.